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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the deep-reform efforts of 9 secondary schools over a 3-year period. The reforms occurred in an Ontario, Canada, school district that empowered their secondary schools to develop site-specific organizational structures that deviated from the traditional subject, departmental structure. The sample for the study included all individuals in the new administrative positions and all secondary-school principals in the school district. A total of 180 interviews were conducted. The study focused on the relationship between restructuring and "reculturing" in secondary schools. The results suggest that two key factors of restructuring facilitate reculturing: structural evolution and new roles and relationships. The paper presents findings on structural evolution; the acceptance of contextual differences; emergent design; goal-driven models; the interactive/reflective process; broadening leadership; new ways of operating; reculturing outcomes; conspicuous reculturing outcomes; increased acceptance of, and capacity for, change; and subtle reculturing outcomes. It concludes that the restructuring process must involve participants in constructing the new organizational structures; this engagement spawned the reflection required for reculturing. The evidence suggests that structural change by itself will most likely not facilitate cultural change; rather, it is the sustained and carefully facilitated process that has the possibility of fostering cultural change. Contains 30 references. (RJM)

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Self-Renewing Secondary Schools: The Relationship Between Structural And Cultural Change

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Self-Renewing Secondary Schools:
The relationship between structural and cultural change[1]

As the world spins towards the new millennium, there has been an increasing call to reform secondary schools in terms of the educational opportunities offered to students; yet these schools are notorious for either resisting change or assimilating innovations to the point that the innovations resemble past practices. Unless we understand the underlying processes promoting the status quo, then future change in secondary schools is problematic indeed. Possibly, the subject department structure might well be a prime deterrent to sustained change in secondary schools.

For almost the last hundred years, the subject department structure has been a taken-for-granted way of organizing and operating secondary schools. This structure covertly defines the interaction patterns and educational values in most secondary schools. As such, the structure perpetuates a culture which values compartmentalization of knowledge and teachers. Further, the role of department head can symbolize not only this compartmentalization but a hierarchical decision-making process. There has been little challenge or questioning of this way of organizing secondary schools and it is not surprising that the subject department structures is one of the most impenetrable structures in education.

Seemingly if the secondary school reform initiatives are to be seriously entertained, then there is a need to reculture secondary schools to redefine educational values considered of worth. Fullan (1993, p. 49) suggests that reculturing requires "changing norms, habits, skills, and beliefs". He warns that to restructure is not to reculture and that reculturing must take place prior to restructuring. Yet a paradox exists in secondary schools: without some degree of initial restructuring, the subject department defined culture might prohibit any real or sustained cultural change that challenges the status quo.

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In this paper, we explore the deep reform efforts of nine secondary schools over a three year period that occurred when an Ontario, Canada school district empowered their secondary schools to develop site-specific organizational structures which deviated from the traditional subject departmental structure. We have studied both the emerging process at the system and school levels as well as the impact of the developing models for both the involved educators and students. The research clearly documents that structural change preceded programmatic and cultural change and in this paper, we explore why restructuring facilitates reculturing.

Conceptual Framework

In earlier work, we outlined the pervasiveness of the subject departmental structure and the impact on school culture and possibilities for substantial change (Hannay & Ross, 1997b, in press). The subject departmental structure shapes secondary school cultures (Hannay & Ross, in press) by: stressing discrete subject rather than cross-departmental knowledge (Grossman & Stodolsky, 1995; Hargreaves, 1994; Siskin, 1994; Talbert & McLaughlin, 1992) and by defining teacher professional identity and interaction patterns in terms of subjects (Grossman & Stodolsky, 1995; Hannay, 1996; McLaughlin & Talbert, 1990; Siskin, 1994). This can perpetuate the balkanization described by Hargreaves (1994) as defining teachers by subject can curtail dialogue and collaboration between teachers from different subject areas (Dimmock, 1995; Grossman & Stodolsky, 1995; Hargreaves, 1994; Little, 1992; Johnson, 1990). Dellar (1996) suggests, in turn, this diminishes whole school culture, inter-departmental reform initiatives, and pedagogical change.

The department head position in a typical secondary school organizational model symbolizes the balkanized culture described above and represents the ability of the department to govern itself. Obviously, the role of department head is taken-for-granted in most secondary school structures (Bolam & Turner, 1998; Siskin, 1994) and often there is a lack of clarity concerning the department head role. Certainly, the academic community has only recently begun to examine the department head (Bolam & Turner, 1998; Hill, 1995; Siskin & Little, 1995; Turner, 1996). The limited research available suggests that most

department heads often perform low-level managerial tasks such as budget maintenance or supply requisition (Brown & Rutherford, 1998; Hannay, 1992; Harris, Jamieson & Russ, 1998); there is little reference in the literature to department heads being active change agents. Indeed, there is little research about how, or if, department heads influence teaching and learning (Bolam & Turner, 1998; Harris, Jamieson & Russ, 1998). Hannay & Smeltzer Erb (1999), in a meta-analysis of earlier research by Hannay (1992, 1994) and Hannay & Schmalz (1995), suggests that department heads were not successful in implementing and sustaining cross-departmental change initiatives such as curriculum integration even when mandated by legislated curriculum policy.

The limited evidence available concerning the role of department heads operating within a subject departmental structure and culture, suggests that these structures might curtail current reform initiatives (Stoll & Fink, 1996) that focus on cross-departmental initiatives or teaching for understanding. Yet on-going study of the change process clearly suggests that mandating any change, especially cultural change, might be doomed to failure (Fullan, 1993; Miles, 1993) as one cannot mandate what matters. It is not the alternative structure itself that is crucial but engagement in the process of designing the alternative structures that holds the promise for reculturing. The restructuring process must be one that assists participants in rethinking the cultural attributes they hold sacred for both themselves and for their students.

Deliberative theory provides a means to conceptualize why involvement in restructuring might lead to reculturalization. Schwab (1969) argues that the subject of deliberation must be practical not theoretical problems while Reid (1978) suggests that these problems need to be uncertain not procedural problems. Uncertain problems would focus not on the 'what' but on the 'should' or 'ought'. Further, the deliberative process is perceived as a spiral (Schwab, 1983; Roby, 1985) in which alternatives are generated with the best alternative selected based on reasoned judgement (Reid, 1978). If restructuring process focussed on what should secondary school education consist of and what should be the organizational structure supportive of such learning, it would be possible to engage participants in reflecting deeply about what learning and structures should be valued in their school. In such a scenario, the means of restructuring

interact with the ends of reculturing by going deeper into a spiral of meaning which can support alternative views of secondary school education.

The subject department structure makes it problematic for participants to engage in deliberation as this taken-for-granted structure can dictate the options that are considered viable especially if the problem is perceived as a procedural problem. By framing the change initiative as a procedural problem contained within the subject structure, such as initiating an integrated curriculum while maintaining a traditional timetable, it is problematic for individuals to address questions facilitative of reculturing. Yet if the problem is conceived as an uncertain problem that focuses on what 'should or ought' be included in nature of secondary school education, it is possible to engage participants in a deliberative spiral which enhances the possibility of reculturing.

In this paper, we examine the relationship between restructuring and reculturing with reference to the experiences of nine secondary schools.

Methods

This paper reports only a small portion of the data collected in the longitudinal study as we only employ data collected in the 1997-98 school year from principals and individuals in the new positions of responsibility (POR) positions (called facilitators to distinguish them from traditional department heads).

Sample

The sample included all individuals in the new administrative positions and of the secondary school principals in the school district. Consequently, maximum sample variation was achieved (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Data Collection Techniques

Interviews. We have conducted yearly taped and open-ended interviews with the individuals appointed to the new POR positions. This has resulted in approximately 180 interviews though the data used in this article were based on interviews with all facilitators (50) and all principals (9).

Survey Research. Self-administered questionnaires were administered yearly to all secondary teachers in the school district (return rate of 85-90%). The items were developed through a consensus reaching process with steering committee members, principals, and teachers. The scales were internally consistent (cronbach's alphas .78-.87). In addition to the qualitative data, self-administered questionnaires were administered yearly to all teachers. The results, previously reported in Hannay & Ross (in press) and Ross, Hannay, and Brydges (1999), indicate there were statistically significant improvements in organizational health across the district during the three years of the project. The survey data, although not overtly referenced in the present paper, were consulted when interpreting the interview data, thereby triangulating data sources.

Data analysis

Consistent with an naturalistic research paradigm, data analysis was inductive and ongoing. Patterns were identified and employed to analyse the data through application of the NUD:IST qualitative analysis computer program.

Credibility

Credibility techniques were embedded into the research design. The long term involvement of the researchers with the site ensured *prolonged and persistent observation*. *Triangulation* was embedded into the broader longitudinal study. Certainly, the scope of the data collected including participants from 9 different schools, collecting survey data, conducting focus groups interviews, and engaging in document analysis facilitated *triangulation*. Sharing the emerging analysis with the participants incorporated *member checks* into the research methodology.

Results

In this study, we have investigated the restructuring and reculturing process experienced in nine secondary schools over a three year period. The process began in 1994 when the school staffs were given the responsibility of developing Positions of Responsibility (POR) organizational models reflective of the contextual needs of their schools. The restructuring process, supported both by the school district senior

administration and union officials, was to be site-based and program driven. The taken-for-granted continuance of the department head structure was directly questioned as the only restriction placed on the development process was that the status quo was not acceptable. The term department head was replaced with that of facilitator.

The design process has been an evolving one with most school staffs taking advantage of their option to annually adapt their models. The schools have different contextual needs and consequently each school staff progressed at a pace reflective of their culture. At the end of three years (with the process continuing), seven out of nine schools have created and sustained new organizational models. Most models changed from a reliance on subject department positions to include at least some whole school function positions. Student assessment, professional development, community relations, or curriculum integration are examples of function positions selected by some school staffs.

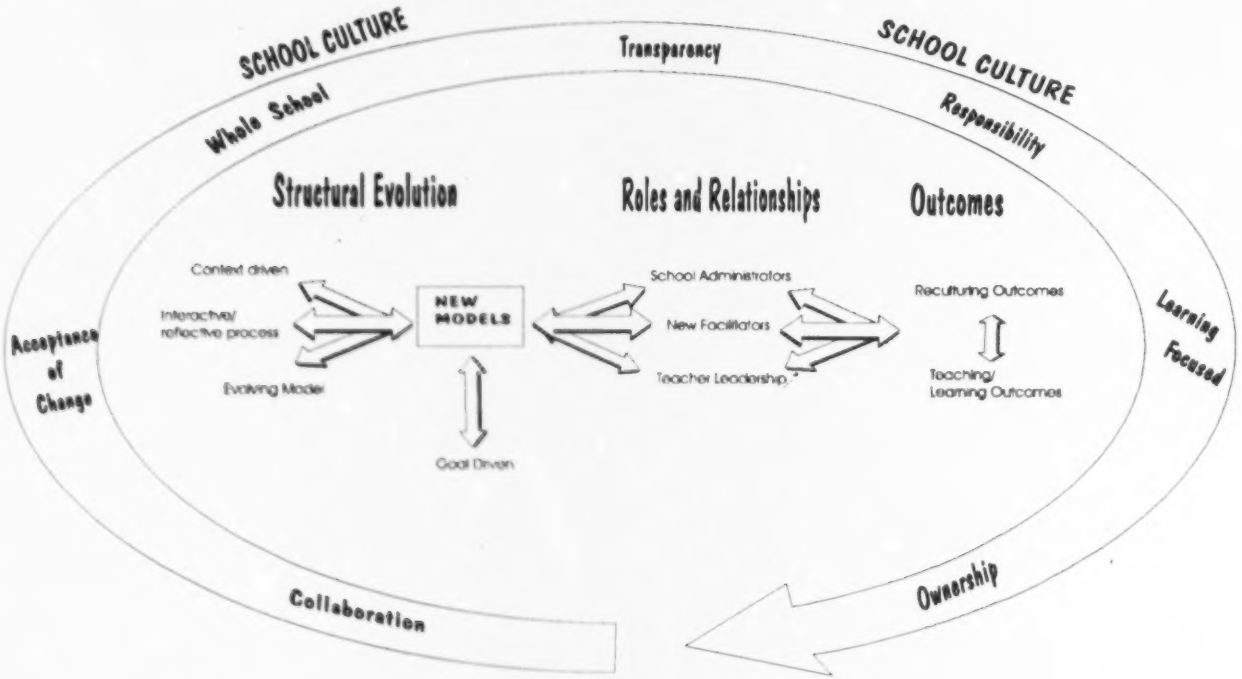
Creating new organizational models was a demanding process for the school staffs as it required that individuals challenge some of the basic assumptions of being secondary school teachers and 'the way' secondary schools operate. Further, it was a process that had to evolve over a sustained time period to allow individuals in engage in the deliberative process. Over the three years as we progressed in our data collection, it became clearer that in schools where the new models challenged the traditional departmental structure and culture, the school culture was more vibrant and change focussed. In this paper, we explore *why* the changes to the departmental models appear to encourage deeper cultural and organizational change than a modification to a departmental model.

Overview

Three years into the implementation of new organizational models, we have documented teaching/learning and reculturing outcomes directly related to involvement in restructuring. Throughout the research process we have attempted to understand the relationship between restructuring and reculturing in secondary schools. The data suggest that there are two key facets involved in restructuring than can facilitate reculturing: structural evolution and new roles and relationships. The process represented in

Figure One is a dynamic deliberative spiral evolving over three years and through which participants came to perceive school organization as an uncertain not a taken-for-granted procedural problem.

Figure 1: Relationship Between Restructuring and Reculturing



Deeper engagement in the restructuring process over a sustained period of time meant that participants gradually increased the alternatives considered viable. As the scope of options increased, it impacted on the values prized in the culture such as collaboration, transparency, ownership as noted in the outer ring of Figure One. In schools that were deeper into the restructuring and consequent reculturing, we documented outcomes that involved changing teaching/learning practices and new cultural attributes being prized. In the following text, we explore these relationship in terms of the deliberative process and the documented outcomes. Reference to the technical report provides a more in-depth perspective (Hannay & Ross, 1999).

Structural Evolution

By the 1998 data collection, three model forms had developed: protectionist, responsive, and blended. The protection category refers to the organizational structures with the primary responsibility of protecting individuals and the sanctity of the subject department. As described by a participant:

> I'm in charge of math and I make sure that the books are ordered. I help my teachers that are new to the department. I do those kind of traditional things. They're kind of ongoing and they're maintenance. [Int4: G6].

A responsive organizational model was more concerned with responding to the changing needs of society and the changing educational needs of students. These models incorporated continual change into their design as their function positions changed to reflect emerging needs such as the upcoming secondary school provincial reform initiatives and/or changing needs of society, for instance:

> When we made the new positions, we made them up based on our vision of the graduate, but also keeping in mind the trends and things that we were hearing [was] going to be happening in education.[Int4: J1]

A blended model included a subject focus while adding function positions that were more whole-school and responsive. A facilitator described such a situation:

> I think the Department Head model is really necessary and I don't think we'd ever move away from that. You need your specialists . . . in each area. The [new positions] and the Department Heads are moving towards having an interconnecting sort of relationship. [Int4: F5]

No one individual model represents the perfect model or the panacea for facilitating secondary school change although models with a function or responsive orientation were more supportive of fundamental reculturing. It was the unfolding deliberative process which gradually lead to a conceptualization of the model form as uncertain that facilitated most school staffs in advocating alternative structures. Four factors further our understanding of why active involvement in restructuring facilitated reculturing in most schools: contextually-grounded models; an emergent design; goal-driven models; and an interactive/reflective process.

The Acceptance Of Contextual Differences

When the restructuring process began in 1995, the teachers federation affiliate and the school board administration made a critical decision that the POR model could vary by school with individual school staffs designing a model most appropriate for their work site. Although designing contextually unique models was demanding, involvement in the process encouraged that alternatives were considered possible and even desirable:

> I think first thing is to take your time and study what actual departments you need and how that's going to affect other people who are basically shifted aside after certain number of years of doing something. That I think is probably the main thing is to really look at where do you need the areas. A lot of it comes down to some people trying to still protect their little bit of turf. I think you've got to open it up to the whole school and what's better for everybody. [Int4: E13]

The development process encouraged the creation of models that not only met individual school needs but also facilitated a new vision of a flexible organization. A facilitator explained:

> I think that's the one part that I think really was powerful, that people are going, "You mean that meeting that we had when we selected our priorities, you actually listened to that?" We've had more staff members talk about that the change was generated by consensus. [Int4: C14]

Emergent Design

Another decision made early in the restructuring process was that schools could revise their models annually to meet emerging needs. While this decision created some tension for schools with deadlines that the participants often consider inappropriate, it resulted in a continual adaptation to the school-based models and thus prevented the new models becoming the new taken-for-granted. Numerous facilitators stressed the importance of the continual revision of their school-based models, for instance:

> I think that the model has to be constantly in flux. I do think that was the original intention of it--that it was never just to be created and sit there for 20 years. So if I can emphasize anything, keep it fluid, keep it moving and keep moving people through those positions. When I took the position I knew it wasn't forever. I knew it was part of an ongoing process. [Int4: A6]

A model subject to review and revision annually by the staff both enhanced the concept of an organization as a living organism that was flexible to emerging needs but it also reinforced the staff's role in allocating resources to meet site-specific needs. A facilitator explained:

> I think the staff likes the idea of being involved in creating positions, and I think they like the idea of . . . at the end of two years, saying, 'Okay, that facilitator's position has met its mandate and I don't think we need to go on anymore.' Or, 'I think that that position should continue,' and the staff gives input into that. Or, 'I think we need to continue the position, but with somebody else.' So, I think they see a lot of flexibility with it, so I think they like that. [Int4: B4]

The continual model revision perpetuated a deliberative spiral in which individuals gradually went beyond the givens of the traditional department head model towards new understandings about what would be best for their schools. The process facilitated the development of a common platform that Walker (1978) argues is an essential component of deliberation.

Goal-driven Models

Through the emerging deliberative spiral, procedural problems became uncertain problems with the participants moving from an unquestioning acceptance of past structures to connecting the new positions to school goals related to change initiatives. In the 1997-98 data, we observed a subtle shift in resource allocation with an increased number of school staffs connecting the POR positions to school goals and directions. In other words, the staff used the resources associated with the POR positions to support and to enhance the developing platforms represented by the selected goals, visions, and/or directions. Developing goal-driven models required that staff members discuss alternatives with each other: "It made us look at what we perceived as our needs. It made us look at ways of meeting those needs. It made us, I think, sit down and talk about important things that weren't simply subject-oriented" [Int4: G1].

In the responsive models, staff members considered their school focus and then developed a POR model to reflect their needs. Focussing on the needs of society and clients shifted the role of the organizational structure as noted by a facilitator: "I have to go back to the idea that we are getting people outside of departments and it's no longer the department that's so important but it's the people" [Int4: A10].

It was a reallocation of resources away from protectionism or maintenance to supporting change initiatives deemed important by staff:

> If assessment and evaluation is one of our goals, then, guess what, there's going to be somebody that coordinates that and makes sure that it happens. If teacher mentoring is one of our goals, to get that on line then there's going to be time set aside so that somebody can look after that. I think maybe there's a Technology group right now, a couple of them that are working together. They've got some time allotted for that kind of thing. That makes far more sense to me. And the staff, we all belong to one of those areas. So, we're absolutely involved in those different things, and making our goals actually come to pass. [Int4: E10]

Another facilitator commented on the emerging relationship between identified school needs and the organizational structure:

> Because we started focussing on the student, and what they need, we'd keep re-directing ourselves. Every team that was developed, came out of those needs. We've identified literacy as a need. We now have a Literacy Team, for example.[Int4: J14]

As a result, in a number of schools, the needs of the clients and society drove the structural change; the structure was not dictating the possibilities. As a facilitator suggested, "I would say that probably the changes that are coming down are driving the POR structure" [Int4: F6]. A principal concurred and remarked that:

> I found that really helpful to me to be able to say look at what we've said is important in this school. These are our drivers, now we want to make positions that support us accomplishing these things. [Int97: P5]

This meant, in some schools, that the development of a vision or school goals was no longer an esoteric activity but has become a process that was considered useful by school staffs as noted by a principal:

> I think there's a sense there that amongst all the staff that when you do school goals now they're really serious. All of a sudden you're starting to see the school goals impacting on what's going on in the school. Whereas I think in the past the idea was that you generate some school goals, put them in the cupboard, [then] dusted them off, and showed them to whoever needed to see them. [Int97: P7]

Interactive/Reflective Process

Designing new models that challenged traditional practices encouraged the questioning of the 'givens' to varying degrees in the schools represented in the 1998 POR interviews. According to several

facilitators, it was the creation process--not just the finished model--that was essential in supporting change:

> Changing titles and names is meaningless. And that's why all of that other part is so critical, the entire process that you put staff through. The model is meaningless. The titles are meaningless. That's a hard thing for people to accept who have been in traditional schools. [Int4: J13]

The acceptance of divergent perspectives was deemed as crucial but there was a recognition that the process could challenge deeply held beliefs and practices--beliefs and practices that had been shaped by years of training and experience. Such a complex process required ways to facilitate rich and value-laden dialogue which was a delicate balancing act in most schools:

> I think you should be able to agree to disagree, to have that kind of healthy dialogue, and hear other people's points of views that maybe you never thought of or ever considered. I think that's really healthy. That's how we grow and we learn: [Int4: J2]

In the schools that were deeper into the restructuring and reculturing process, facilitators reported that questioning and reflection were vital parts of the model development process, for example:

> The Positions of Responsibility have opened the programming and the model in our school up for questioning. When you question, there's room for growth. If you don't question, there's no room for growth. So that's how we've grown because we've questioned our model. We've questioned how we organize our system. [Int4: F5]

The reflective dialogue, documented to varying degrees in all schools, was both an exciting and a frightening process. Mandating that the status quo was not acceptable was the starting point for this process and as a facilitator suggested "POR gave people permission to think about things differently" [Int4: C8]. Numerous individuals reported on the learning or thinking by staff members that was going on in their schools. They noted that resistance to new ideas was part of this process but the creation of alternatives and the acceptance of alternative views assisted in supporting an organization where individuals could learn and could grow. Thinking about alternatives, not blind resistance, was becoming an expectation for some individuals, for example:

> There's always going to be resistance, and resistance is okay. I think your staff needs to know that it's okay that they resist, as long as they're resisting but they're analysing at the same time. [Int4: F5]

In summary, our evidence collected over a three year period, clearly suggests that most school staffs have been engaged in a deliberative spiral. The actual engagement in the development process was critical as it provided the rationale and the means by which individuals began to see their school organization and the nature of secondary school education as uncertain and problematic which increased the alternatives and options deemed viable.

New Roles and Relationships

The deliberative spiral that began with the development of the site-based POR models was furthered through the implementation process. By changing the department head structure, past procedural ways of doing things became more uncertain as the taken-for-granted practices were no longer givens or even desirable. This, in turn, required new conceptions of leadership and new ways of interacting.

Broadening Leadership

In the 1997-98 data, shared leadership was the emerging image with formal POR positions perceived as temporal not static. This contrasted to the past image of a department head position, as described by a principal, when "heads of departments were rewards for services rendered and once you got that reward you had it for life and the amount of services rendered afterwards was immaterial" [Int97: P7]. In contrast, especially with function positions within the responsive and blended models, all new POR positions were temporal and some were focussed on whole school initiatives. The new positions "are three years and everybody has a chance and no you don't have to wait for the department head to die before you have a chance" [Int97: P1]. The intent of the restructuring process was to reallocate the POR resources to meet specific school needs and to involve more individuals in formal leadership positions:

> It's become more of a culture of involvement for more people. When we had our positions posted, a lot of new teachers were encouraged to take a position. They did because, I think, the whole school plan is pull more people in. [Int4: C14]

The emerging "culture of involvement" was evident with the deliberate efforts to engage more individuals in the decision-making processes and to recognize the different stakeholders in the school. While

the restructuring process began with the initial decision to include teachers in developing the site-based POR models thereby recognizing teachers as key stakeholders, the expanded scope included parents and students:

> I have seen more concerted efforts to get information or input from parents, get information from students, get information from staff members at times before changes are made. The idea of gathering information as opposed to just imposing decisions, I think that's a wonderful model. I think it makes people feel good and they have a little bit of control and a little bit of power and say in the decision making. [Int4: A5]

Flat-lined organizations and inclusionary leadership were becoming the image of leadership in the majority of schools. In numerous instances, principals reported that they believed that involving their staffs in an on-going dialogue concerning education in their schools and involving more teachers in the decision-making processes was critical to both the restructuring processes as well as being a desired outcome itself. For example, a principal commented that "every chance I get I will put staff in groups to work together on issues and just so they will talk about what's important and what we're doing in the school" [Int97: P5].

The 1997-98 data collected clearly indicated an increase in teacher leadership in most schools. One principal suggested "I think there are more teaching staff involved in shaping and initiating school change [Int97: P1] and another principal stated "there are more partners now in the decision making than there had been in the past" [Int97: P2]. This has resulted in "more sharing in who has power and what's going on in the school" [Int4: E13] and "more teachers on more committees, more teachers running the committees" [Int4: F5]. Facilitators and teachers assumed an active leadership role in their schools:

> The number of people who've taken active leadership roles in the school has grown. I see more teachers working together cross-departmentally, on both a formal and informal basis. . . . I think it's a more energized staff from that point of view. [Int4: J13]

An enhanced decision-making role for teachers in their school was closely related to the broadening image of leadership. A facilitator commented the importance of including all staff members in decision-making:

> What's causing the changes is, again, our new administrator asking us for input and caring where our priorities are. . . . S/he had us come up with priorities in our school, s/he just listened. S/he let us have input how we'd like to facilitate the changes to meet the needs of

> our students better. It's just we've had all these ideas for so long and we've never been allowed to put them into action. [Int4: B6]

Involvement in shared decision-making required that sufficient time be allocated to ensure a consensus. This certainly enhanced the deliberative process as it offered all stakeholders the opportunity to input into the schools' developing platform. Operating through a consensus model was positively impacting on the implementation process:

> I think that the process of ensuring, when you're on a committee that you work out and you bring everyone to consensus. . . . Taking the time to work through at the school planning team level all the decisions to make sure that everyone agrees. [Int97: P2]

A facilitator suggested that the broadening of leadership was the most important accomplishment of his/her school staff in the restructuring process:

> Probably the change in leadership in the school. I mean it used to be that the principal made some decisions or met with the heads and the heads made the decisions and the rest of the staff heard about them. I think now because we have so many different leaders, and maybe leaders with different ways of thinking about what leadership is. It has changed the decision-making process in the school and involved more people. So I think that's probably the biggest accomplishment. [Int4: A6]

A principal agreed that leadership had broadened through engagement in restructuring but that it also involved new conceptions of responsibility for staff members to challenge decisions and provide alternatives:

> I can see the POR affects that because we've spread out the leadership roles and that was one of the things that I certainly was aiming for. I wanted the leadership roles spread out. However, I think there's also a sense of, it's not leadership, it's personal responsibility. [Int97: P1]

Further another principal suggested that the change in decision-making practices and expanded opportunities for teacher leadership has resulted in more involvement and ownership among staff members:

> I like the way things are working among staff and the way administration and staff interact, and the way decisions are made. I really like it. I think there's a lot more of buying in of everybody, in terms of having a say and really taking ownership for how things are done here. [Int97: P8]

New Ways of Operating

Both facilitators and principals were trying to find new ways of working and of forging new relationships in their schools as they did not just want to replace the department head structure with another rigid structure. For instance, several facilitators talked about moving away from the past hierarchical or patriarchal models to more interactive strategies:

> I think it's a question of sort of broadening the leadership base, getting more input from as many people as possible. I think that can only be positive. . . . I think [it is the] whole getting away from that hierarchal thing. [Int4: F7]

> I think it's a happier group of people. More of a team effort. It's not so pyramidal. It's not such a patriarchal thing. [Int4: E2]

The facilitators were leery of assuming an authority role, "I think, there's a danger of becoming . . . re- institutionalizing that if we take too much responsibility" [Int4: J1] because of potentially damaging the new fluid and collaborative approaches being developed. Creating new collaborative modes of operating required breaking down past perceptions as vividly described by a facilitator:

> I didn't know that I would become one of "them." I'm a one of "them" now and I wasn't before. I didn't know I'm a one of "them" until somebody referred to me as, "Well, you're one of them. You must know." I'm like, "What? Have I changed?" I'm viewed differently, I guess. I don't think I want to be viewed differently. I find that tough that my peers relate to me in a different way, just because I have some title. So, I try to break that barrier as much as I can because I'm a personal kind of person. I don't like structure, top-down structure. I like working collaboratively with people. You have to win their trust and that's hard, especially when they're calling you "one of them." [Int4: F5]

Facilitators were actively engaged in re-aligning the power and authority relationship between the POR role and the teaching staff. Facilitators generally did not want the authority role of a department head; they pursued a more collaborative role:

> I think other teachers feel more comfortable dealing with a facilitator than with a Department Head, because we're not seen as being experts and we're not seen as being in a position of authority over them. [Int4 C4]

Participants wanted their schools to work differently as noted by a principal:

> I think there's a real fear, on my part I guess--I don't know whether fear is the right word--that these leadership teams might end up working in isolation too. So we're really

> trying to work to create that spider web or network among the leadership teams so that they're not just creating a new little turf. [Int97: P8]

Although this has been a difficult process for some staff members, the movement towards an inclusionary approach shifted the relationship because "I think it made a lot of people have some input into what was changing. I think in the past that we've . . . sort of been said, 'Okay. Here's the change. Do it.'" [Int4: B3]. Again this enhanced the deliberative process as individuals had authentic input into the developing school platform.

Several schools were experimenting with teams or clusters of teachers working with the facilitators to bring about whole school change. In fact, teamwork and collaboration were the primary concerns of the facilitators in conceptualizing their role:

> I think when I've seen how other facilitators have worked in curriculum areas, I think there has been a change, and because they're looking at a broader picture. They're trying to pull people together to work as a team. I think that's been a big difference. [Int4: C14]

Operating as a team that crossed subject departments with active participation in decision-making and action resulted in a new organizational norms. A facilitator reflected:

> I think you've got more people involved. You've got community involved, which was almost never. You have students involved in the teams, which was never under the Department Head structure. I think you've got people talking about larger issues in meetings. That never happened [before]. The whole structure of meetings is changing, and will continue to change in terms of staff meetings and POR meetings. [Int4 J13]

The facilitator roles influenced many aspects of the school. For instance, many facilitators were actively involved in assisting the professional development of other staff members through both informal and formal activities:

> I've talked with individual staff. I've done some workshops. I've actually found materials and gone into different people's classes and talked about materials that I've found. I've had some teachers come to me, kind of informally, they're struggling with something, we just talked about it. [Int4 B4]

However, typically the focus on growth was more global and embedded into the normal practices of the school. One such example has been the changing conception of the staff meeting from one that focuses on managerial items to one that focuses on professional growth and dialogue. Staff meetings operate

differently in a number of schools as a principal noted, now "its jig sawing, its cooperative learning" [Int97: P8]. A facilitator explained:

> Our staff meetings are really different, because we almost always do this thing where we'll have an issue or we'll have a topic or a concern or a task and then we'll break up into groups. Then we bring it back to the larger group and present it. People have input and they expect to see their input being moved on, and they do see it. So, I think that's really good. I think everybody feels not only do they have a say, but they make a difference. [Int4: B2]

The team work stressed and non-hierarchical process advocated by most of the new facilitators and school administrators encouraged staff involvement and leadership. Indeed the fact that this has continued and expanded over a four year period, even with the various political difficulties emanating from provincial policy, indicates that the school district and administrators were seriously committed to teacher involvement, shared leadership and school change.

In summary, the data from both the principals and the facilitators clearly indicates that the leadership role in the school was broadening beyond the concept of those in line authority positions such as the principal or department heads being the leaders. It was almost as the organizations being created represented a series of linked whirlpools with facilitators, teachers and principals engaged in both creating and linking the whirlpools. These new forms of interactions were being forged under difficult political situations and a policy deluge emanating from the provincial government. All of these difficulties created the potential of snags, rocks or rapids in the continuing creation and implementation of the POR models at both the system and the school levels. Yet new roles and relationships were being fostered and even thriving in most schools.

Reculturing Outcomes

Over the last three years, the restructuring focus in Northumberland-Clarington Board of Education resulted in outcomes effecting the teaching/learning process and school cultures. In other accounts (Hannay & Ross, 1999; Hannay & Smeltzer Erb, 1999), we report the teaching and learning outcomes associated with the restructuring process; in this paper we focus specifically on the documented

reculturing outcomes. We define reculturing outcomes as changes to school cultures in terms of interaction patterns and the cultural attributes considered of worth.

Increasingly, the role of school culture in supporting or inhibiting change is being explored in the academic literature. At the simplest level, school culture refers to 'how we do things around here' (Deal & Kennedy, 1982). Often the culture of secondary schools is presented as balkanized (Hargreaves, 1994) and resistant to change (Hannay & Schmalz, 1995). As we attempt to further our understanding of *why* restructuring proceeds and influences reculturing, the role of school culture is a pivotal concern. In the 1997-98 data there were strong indications that the culture of some schools was being adapted due to developing and then implementing site-based POR models. Indeed one principal described the cultural changes as "we're a microcosm, we're a little bug here just growing and splitting and doing all sorts of nasty mitosis things. Like we're a living culture here, we're yoghurt" [Int97: P1].

The evidence suggests two different kinds of reculturing outcomes: conspicuous and subtle. The conspicuous reculturing outcomes involved observable action while reculturing outcomes entailed perceptual changes.

Conspicuous Reculturing Outcomes

The structural evolution that has occurred over the last three years, facilitated the emergence of new cultural attributes which fostered the documented reculturing outcomes of collaboration, acceptance of change, and a whole school focus. The new roles and relationships provided a means to further develop the reculturing outcomes.

Collaboration. Developing new models provided a focus for the change efforts but it only succeeded when a school staff collectively developed a common direction and functioned in an interactive and reflective manner. The evidence clearly demonstrates, in all schools, increased collaboration was the most common reculturing outcome. Further, collaboration was the first reculturing outcome to emerge as we documented elements of increased collaboration from the first year of data collection. In the third year

data, collaborative dialogue and actions had increased and such collaboration was clearly becoming a prized cultural attribute.

Several facilitators noted that focussing on common school directions was a significant cultural change and outcome for a number of staff members. The culture had to evolve into one that supported collaborative dialogue and, in many cases, there were substantial reculturing outcomes in individual schools as noted by this facilitator:

> So that's a real change in climate. We discuss abstract ideas, philosophy of education, not just a student who misbehaves and classroom control and those problems. We look at where we want to go in a particular subject. [Int4: C14]

An open and collaborative culture was essential both during the continual process of model development and also in the implementation of the new organizational models.

> People are invited in on the decision-making process at all different levels, whether we're interviewing for new positions. I think that people have the opportunity to attend every meeting, to express their feelings. [Int4: J13]

Certainly, the evidence suggests that the new models were becoming 'the way we do things in this school'. As a facilitator commented, "I think where we're going is progressive and it's the way I want to do things. I can't imagine going back to the other structure" [Int4: E4].

Increased acceptance of and capacity for change. Structural evolution challenged two familiar responses to change from schools 'if it ain't broke, don't break it' or 'don't reinvent the wheel' as noted by a facilitator:

> A lot people think things aren't broken so why touch them. But just because they're not broken doesn't mean they don't need to be made better again. Like there's always room to, we're never perfect. I think that's something that people have to accept as well that well we should be striving to be better. [Int4: A10]

Revising and evaluating models annually generated cultures with the internal capacity to deal with change and with individuals less afraid of change.

> It started us thinking about what is going to be the constant for the rest of our lives, and that is change. It has given us the opportunity to see that you can put a process in place to deal with it that doesn't have to negatively impact on who and what we are, and our students. That it can be positive if done well and creatively. [Int4: I2]

A reculturing outcome derived from the restructuring process has been a new image of and acceptance of change. As examined in the structural evolution section of this paper, the continual process of developing and reviewing their school-based models was directly related to the outcome of lessening tension concerning change which, in turn, increased change capacity. This connection was stressed by the following facilitator:

> I think the actual alternation to the structure, creating formal positions. That was a change [that] I think that has set a certain precedent and when changes do occur we have the capacity to adjust to them in a formal way. I think that can take a lot of the pressure and anxiety off of people. Purposing changes and listening, developing models and getting input is, has been really sound and overall I think for the majority of staff that it's worked really, really well for them. [Int4: A5]

In some schools, challenging the givens expanded the number of options considered possible or desirable which had a significant impact on the culture of those schools. Moreover as the new POR models were implemented, the resulting roles and relationships created new opportunities for individuals interested in changing their schools to work together. These opportunities heightened the developing change capacity.

> I've learned a lot. I find it really rejuvenating. I like working with a team of people who are excited about change the way I am. I like moving ahead professionally. I feel if I'm stagnating that I'm not as interesting a person in front of the class. I have something to look forward to when I come to school, because of the changes to a certain extent in the role that I'm playing. [Int4: F6]

Further through focussing on an interactive and collaborative restructuring process with the accompanying opportunities for shared decision-making, there was a rejuvenation experienced by many facilitators, for instance:

> It's great feeling like I can use a lot of my ideas and my visions again. For the last ten years, with other leadership, I felt like this was not a progressive place. All of a sudden now, I can do some really exciting things and I have somebody behind me who believes in me and makes me want to come here. Actually makes me really excited about coming here again. After 12 years of teaching, that's pretty cool, because I could teach forever feeling this way. [Int4: F5]

As noted in the following comment, this involvement has not only resulted in reculturing outcomes for the teachers involved but it also resulted in learning opportunity outcomes for students:

> The change in the leadership roles has really brought on . . . because people are motivated. They've taken on these jobs. They want to promote change and do a good job. So the comfort level as far as knowing that you have people who want to help and want to facilitate better learning experiences for the kids and give you some professional direction, and that sort of idea, has really changed. [Int4: C7]

Whole school. Developing new organizational structures was perceived as a means to facilitate whole school interaction, for example:

> So the attitude of the whole staff is changed. . . . We're working together and we know exactly where we're going. We know why we're here and what our common cause is, what our common goal is. It's right out there right in front. [Int4: B2]

It was not just the whole school interaction and focus that was considered important but the reallocation of resources. With the right to allocate POR resources within the school, the resources could be more fairly allocated and "now all the POR's affect everyone, and it's not a huge resource for any one area, but it kind of has a ripple effect through the whole school" [Int4: B6]. The staff selected a school focus and reallocated the resources to provide a facilitator to implement those initiatives. For example, a facilitator claimed:

> The set-up that we have with the different Positions of Responsibility, helps to facilitate the changes going on, and to make people more comfortable with those changes. An assessment and evaluation facilitator that can help people to deal with authentic assessment or whatever it is that's coming down. [Int4: C16]

A whole school focus was a reculturing outcome as teachers were working with teachers from different subject areas on substantial issues related to teaching and learning. The openness that developed was creating new perceptions:

> I'll talk about the culture--how this culture's changed. Far more teachers working with teachers. A lot more of teachers moving out of the classroom. That's a huge change. Now out of the classroom might be going to the library or to the lab. Or it might be doing field studies. Or it might be going across [subjects with] the art and drama people changing places. But there's a real reculturing in that teachers are working together. [Int4: G6]

Subtle Reculturing Outcomes

The subtle reculturing outcomes were supported through structural evolution but especially through the new ways of operating generated by the new roles and relationships. Subtle outcomes involved

more of a perceptual change than action and hence the nature of these outcomes makes it more problematic to capture the changes in a single quote.

Throughout this study, the data has continually stressed the importance ascribed by the participants to openness, communication, and dialogue. Many participants repeatedly commented that they wanted to create open structures that operated differently than had the previous department head organizational structure. Both in the model development process and in the new roles and relationships, transparency of process was a subtle reculturing outcome. A facilitator suggested that the process had to be transparent with "opening it all up to the staff and no secrets" [Int4: B2]. Another facilitator described how the new roles and relationships was supporting transparency:

> It was kind of like we lived in a fountain here. You went to the fountain and you threw in your coins and you hoped to God you got your wish, right. You'd keep throwing in the coins until somebody said, 'There's no more money there', 'Or no more wishes.' Now, we have a budget. We know what's what and where everything's going. [Int4: B4]

The focus in some schools was shifting from a primarily curriculum focus on the content to be learned and how the teacher would teach the content, to a focus on how the student learns. This certainly can be partially attributed to the documented movement towards performance-based assessment (Hannay & Ross, 1999) but it can also be partially attributed to the development of responsive models that look outward towards the needs of society and the resulting impact on students. As a principal explained "If there's one place where I see us going, it's probably how do we get people to see how kids learn and [that] kids have different abilities" [Int97: P7].

Another subtle reculturing outcome for the facilitators was going beyond just facilitating action to a sense of responsibility for ensuring the action was implemented. In most schools teachers wanted more active involvement in setting the direction for their schools. Assuming this responsibility was fostering a sense of ownership--ownership in creating new directions and new opportunities. The process not only

provided opportunity and gave teachers' voice, it required that individuals accepted the responsibility of involvement:

> I think this whole process has really encouraged people to take ownership. If you don't like something, ask the question. If you don't like something, then suggest a way to change it. If you don't like something, at least, bring the issue out on the table so that you can find out how widespread that feeling is. [Int97: P8]

In summary, the evidence indicates that new norms, values, and beliefs have been developing as the participants engaged in the restructuring process. It was the process of developing while concurrently implementing new roles and the consequent relationships that provided the means through which new cultural attributes became to be prized and practised.

Conclusion

In this paper we examined the linkages between engagement in the restructuring process and reculturing. For the schools in this case study, involvement in restructuring fostered reculturing. However, this is not to suggest that restructuring will automatically result in reculturing as our data suggests several considerations.

First, the restructuring process must involve participants in constructing the new organizational structures as it was this engagement that spawned the reflection required for reculturing. The organizational structure had to become internally perceived as problematic and involving uncertain questions if the norms, values, and beliefs inherent in secondary school cultures were truly challenged. Certainly, the mandated mantra that 'the status quo was not acceptable' began the process documented in the case study. However, it was when questions became uncertain and the participants examined the contextual needs of their students that deeper cultural beliefs were challenged. Further, in order to address these uncertain questions, members of each school staff had to dialogue about what was important for their schools and as this dialogue continued they engaged in the 'ought' or 'should' questions advocated through deliberative theory. This form of dialogue supported the creation of new alternatives and options which were vital for both the restructuring and reculturing process.

Second, the process has to be facilitative of this kind of deep questioning which involves personal and collective introspection. School staffs need time to reflect on their individual and collective values. They need both the actual time to engage in such deliberations but a sustained time period through which ideas can germinate. In this article, the importance ascribed by the participants to structural evolution demonstrates the importance of a sustained restructuring process.

Third, in secondary schools the subject departmental structure might have to be questioned as the structure is so omnipresent, it might be impossible to challenge conceptions of teaching and learning without initially challenging structures. Certainly, evidence from other researchers suggests that the subject department represents cohesive sub-cultures (Stoll & Fink, 1996) which perpetuate the norms of interaction such as balkanization described by Hargreaves (1994). Developing and sustaining new cultural norms of collaboration or whole school focus would be difficult without the initial challenge to subject department structures.

Fourth, the norms of action must be modified to be congruent with the new structures. Certainly, in the study reported in this paper, the new structures were crucial but reculturing also required the new ways of operating such as shared leadership, teamwork, and an inclusionary approach to all aspects of the schools operation. New structures by themselves could not support reculturing; new norms of working were required for those in positions of responsibility and for teachers.

Fifth, the means and ends of the process were inter-mingled. Initially, the goal of the school system was not to reculture the schools, it was to create new structures. However, quickly it was apparent that through developing new structures, the participants were creating new cultural norms. This process must be conceived as a spiral of meaning in which the participants can go deeper and deeper into exploring the cultural norms they deem of worth. Such a reflective process requires a sustained time period.

In conclusion, this longitudinal study illuminates the interaction of structural and cultural change in one school district. The evidence clearly suggests that structural change by itself will most likely not facilitate cultural change. Rather it is the sustained and carefully facilitated process that has the possibility

of fostering cultural change. Deliberative theory has provided a means to understand the relationship. Serious and sustained engagement in restructuring can facilitate a shift from the problem being identified as procedural to one that is uncertain. If restructuring is perceived as a procedural issue, the possibility of reculturing declines and if that occurs, change will be more superficial than consequential. Reculturing involves individuals examining and then adapting underlying values for themselves and in their organizations. School change requires a collective reculturing and while "such processes are more difficult to reach than surface behaviours" (Stoll & Fink, p. 100), only by understanding this process can we comprehend the difficulties ascribed to secondary school change. The deliberative process provides us with a means of conceptualizing and understanding this complex process.

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